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LETTER.

WASHINGTON CITY, July 8, 1856.

To the people of the Sixth Congressional District of Missouri:

For the generous support which you have given to me during many years I feel deeply grateful. Were this not profoundly true, you would be badly requited for a confidence which has seldom been exceeded by that of any constituency. As the best and most suitable expression of my gratitude for your confidence and favor, my constant endeavor has been to apply myself assiduously to the performance of the duties devolving upon me as your representative in Congress. To enable me to do this in a manner worthy of you, I have shunned no labor, nor study, necessary to qualify me to understand the complicated and important operations of the various departments of our government. Yet, with all my pains-taking, I have to confess how far short I have fallen in my efforts to gain that comprehensive and yet minute knowledge of the business operations of the national government which was possessed by those truly great and good men who laid the foundations of our free institutions—institutions which, the more we know of them, the more deeply do we love and reverence them, and the more do we desire their perpetuation in all their harmony and beauty. But, though we may not easily acquire the varied and extensive knowledge which distinguished those patriotic men, we can diligently strive to preserve, unimpaired, and in all their excellence, the wholesome fruits of their labors. We can resist innovations, and vigorously uphold the constitution of our fathers *as it is*; convinced that, as it was good enough for the wisest, purest, and best men that ever lived “in the tide of times,” it is also good enough for us and our children. Were it otherwise, we would not seek nor would we countenance any change amid the sectional and factious storms and strifes which now distract and disturb our fair land.

Upon this view have I acted during my official career. Resistance to all efforts to enlarge or to diminish the boundaries set by the constitution of my country, has been my motto. Hence, all efforts to interfere with the rights of citizens, no matter where born; all efforts to proscribe men for worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and all efforts to prevent citizens, in Territories or in States, from choosing their own legislatures to make their own laws, have been steadily opposed by me, in public and in private, officially and as a citizen. The equality of all citizens before the law, irrespective of their wealth, birth-place, or religion, is a cardinal principle which cannot be surrendered by a democrat.

Upon Mr. Buchanan and Major Breckinridge I shall pronounce no studied eulogy—they have real merits, and therefore do not stand in *need of praise* from their friends. They are honest, capable, and faithful to the constitution.

The real opponent of Mr. Buchanan is Colonel Frémont, the nominee of two parties, viz: the Black Republicans and the Know-nothings of the free States. As Mr. Fillmore has no support of any importance among the northern Know-nothings, he may, for all practical purposes, be considered out of the canvass, *except in one event*.

The Abolitionists of the North—such as Messrs. Giddings, Hale, Sumner, Chase, Seward, Preston King, David Wilmot, and Grow—*believe they can obtain possession of the government of the United States* by running a man like Colonel Frémont, of whose political views nothing offensive was known to the people.

Who that loves his country wishes to see the experiment tried of putting its destinies into the hands of the Abolitionists?

To prevent such an awful calamity, is it too much to hope that the southern States will vote, *en masse*, for Mr. Buchanan? Will any considerable number of men throughout all our borders be likely to fail to vote for James Buchanan? Will not the great body of our people make it a matter of conscience to vote for Trusten Polk and the whole democratic State ticket? For, should Colonel Benton carry off democratic votes enough to allow the Know-nothings to succeed, the cry would be raised by the Abolition and northern Know-nothing friends of his son-in-law that “Fillmore is likely to carry several southern-States!” This would *strengthen the hands of the Abolitionists*. If, on the contrary, notwithstanding the division caused by the running of Colonel Benton, Mr. Polk and the whole democratic ticket should be elected by a triumphant majority, the Abolitionists would see that the southern Know-nothings could not aid them by taking southern votes from Buchanan; for, unless the southern Know-nothings can take southern votes from Buchanan, *the Abolitionists are ruined!* If Mr. Buchanan carries the southern States and Pennsylvania, aided by any other *one* State, however small, he will be elected!

Missouri holds the *first* election. It will not do to allow the Abolitionists to say that Fillmore carried it; and that, therefore, he can probably carry *other* southern States against Buchanan. It will not do! We must prevent it if possible. We owe it to Buchanan and Breckinridge to beat, *and thoroughly beat*, their opponents. This can be done by unitedly voting for Polk and the whole Democratic ticket.

And, besides, Mr. Polk is friendly to the Southwest. Unlike Ewing and Benton, he is not *hostile* to the extension of the Southwest railroad to New Mexico, and to California. Unlike Ewing and Benton, he is not pledged, by his feelings, his interests, and by promises, to the Kansas route, and against all others. The Southwest needs, in the governor and State officers, *friends*. Not that we desire them to countenance legislative extravagance—the reverse is the truth—but we need considerate, sensible, and sound-judging friends of a reliable character.

Fellow-citizens, in relation to the extension of our Southwest road—which is so important to us all—I hope to be able to give you pleas-

ant information in a few days. The chairman of the committee having it in charge has promised me all I can desire; but until the bill has been actually brought forward, I consider it improper to publish its details. If my hopes are realized, the early completion, and the early extension of our road southwestward, will be *insured* at the last, after so many years of toil and anxiety. The sanction given to the Pacific railroad by the Democratic party at Cincinnati fills me with confidence—the road will now be built. The cloud, also, which was thrown upon our route last year, by the report of the engineer, has been removed. Minuter surveys, and more careful examinations of old ones, show our route to be *fifty miles shorter* than even the southern route! The estimates of cost of building the road were too high, by more than \$71,000,000. The injury done by the errors of the preliminary report have been repaired by the corrections made by the Secretary of War in his annual report, and by the report of Captain Humphreys. (See pages 93 and 94 of vol. 2, President's Message and Documents for 1856.) From Neosho to San Francisco the distance is 2,025 miles; from Fulton, through Texas to San Francisco, it is 2,075 miles. The South Pass route is longer than ours, and the Coo-chato-pe route is found to be both impracticable and ridiculous.

In this connexion I have the pleasure to state that the honor of carrying through the National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati a resolution in favor of the Government aiding with all its proper constitutional power the construction of a railroad to the Pacific, belongs to the Missouri delegation. I should not have referred to this in a circular, but for the reason that the *bogus* delegation from our State, or some member of it, has either unintentionally or wilfully misrepresented the action of the Missouri delegation on a question of such deep interest and vast magnitude to us. It is charged that the Missouri delegation voted to lay on the table a resolution in favor of opening an overland communication to the Pacific, reported by the committee on resolutions. The charge is false—is so proven by the certificate of Mr. Hesse, one of the secretaries of the convention, and will be branded as a falsehood by every member of the Missouri delegation. He who shall repeat that slander becomes a retailer of falsehood and calumny. The Missouri delegation voted against laying that resolution on the table. But it was laid on the table, a majority of the convention having so voted. And the official proceedings of that convention will show how the delegation from each State voted, and to that I refer you as another proof that the author of this charge has uttered a falsehood. After the nomination of a candidate for President had been made, and before proceeding to nominate a candidate for Vice President, Gen. Shields (the matter having been previously determined on by us) offered a resolution, stating he offered it in behalf of the Missouri delegation, in favor of the Government aiding in opening a communication to the Pacific. A substitute for it was offered by a delegate from Wisconsin. This was accepted by Gen. Shields. Under the rules for the government of the convention, the resolution was bound to go to the committee on resolutions, unless some method should be adopted to prevent such disposition. If the resolution had been referred to the committee on resolutions, the

committee would not have had time to consider and report it to the convention. In this position of affairs, I submitted the motion to suspend the rule requiring the resolution to go to the committee on resolutions. My motion was sustained by more than the necessary two-thirds vote of the convention, and this brought the convention to a direct vote on the resolution. The resolution was then adopted by a large majority. Such was the action of the delegation from Missouri in the Cincinnati convention. And because that delegation has not gone about the State ostentatiously proclaiming their friendship for a Pacific railroad, and that the government ought to aid in this great enterprise, but have quietly and unobtrusively aided in accomplishing more than has, up to this time, been accomplished by any person, even by the Black Republican candidate for President, or his father-in law, both of whom are liberal in promises, and in performances fruitless; they are to have their course on this great question of such vital importance to our State, and its great interests falsely represented. Weak, indeed, must be the cause of those men who resort to calumny and falsehood to prostrate their opponents.

And this justifies me in saying, that my chief assailant, during a service in Congress of thirty-two years, never obtained an acre of land, or a dollar in money, to aid the railroads of Missouri; nor did he ever so much as ask for a vote on a bill for a railroad to the Pacific! Beyond making a speech, or writing a letter, he has not, in his whole public life, so far as I can call to mind, done a solitary thing to promote an object which he says is so important, and in which he says he feels so *deeply* interested! Instead of benefiting, he has done more to injure the project for a Pacific road than he can possibly repair by many years of faithful service; for he said so much in favor of his Coo-cha-to-pe route, not only in Missouri, but also in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, and so intolerably ridiculed all others, that when the surveys showed his route to be about TWO MILES HIGH and utterly impracticable, many thought all the other routes equally absurd, and gave up all hopes in despair. But the public mind is gradually coming right, and we can reasonably hope for an opportunity to do something more than uttering a speech full of the "East Indies" and pretension.

My opinions upon the principles, objects, and organization of the "Know-nothings," were proclaimed to you last year in the many speeches I made. Those opinions are not only unchanged, but confirmed and strengthened by subsequent information, experience, and reflection. It is an organization against which I shall continue to war. Its principles are proscriptive and intolerant; its organization last year (and whether changed in the lodges in our district or not, I am not fully advised) was arbitrary and tyrannical. It is fair and legitimate political warfare, by your vote at the polls, to prevent a candidate being elevated to office on account of his political principles, or because he is unfaithful to the constitution, or because he is dishonest, or because he is deficient in those qualifications necessary to the faithful and energetic discharge of the duties of the office he seeks; but to proscribe a person for an accidental matter, over which he himself had no control—to abridge his rights by a secret rule un-

known to and inconsistent with our laws and constitution—is a species of tyranny worthy only of a despotism, and to which none will long submit, unless they deserve to be the subjects of a despot. I will proscribe no one on account of his birth-place.

Portions of our happy country were first settled, not because of a love of adventure, but because in our mother country the natural, and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences was denied them. They sought the then inhospitable shores of this country as an asylum from religious tyranny and oppression. They made their homes among the untamed savages, that they might proclaim, undisturbed and unmolested, the great principles of Christianity, which they derived from the word of God. The “free exercise” of religion, freedom of speech and of the press, are great principles secured to us by our forefathers in the charter of our liberties. To proscribe any sect or denomination because of its religion, is a violation of our constitution. You subject them to disabilities on account of their religion, and you necessarily abridge the freedom of speech, and shackle the press; for the free exercise of religion carries with it the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press. If such proscription should receive the form of legislative enactment, it would be a nullity; and every intelligent judicial tribunal would so declare, because it would be in violation of the constitution.

The qualifications for holding office under the government of the United States are prescribed by the constitution and laws of the United States. The qualifications for holding office in the States are prescribed by the constitutions of the several States, and the laws enacted in pursuance thereof. Examine those constitutions and laws, and you will find that no religious qualification is required. The constitution of the United States provides, “No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.” The Know-nothings, dissatisfied with the provisions of the constitution, have established a religious disqualification for holding office. They have sworn their members that they will neither vote for nor appoint a Roman Catholic to any office whatever. Protestants, Jews, Mormons, Deists, and Infidels are by the Know-nothing creed eligible to office; but Roman Catholics are not, however pure, upright, patriotic, and faithful to the constitution they may be. A Mormon, a deist, and an infidel are fit to hold office, in the opinion of a Know-nothing, but a Roman Catholic is not! A “polygamous Mormon” is thus preferred by them to a Roman Catholic!

The effect is the same, no matter whether this religious disqualification comes by a secret oath-bound association, like the Know-nothings, or shall be established by legislative enactment, except that in the latter case the enactment would be declared unconstitutional, and therefore null and void; whilst in the former case it is a rule, sanctioned by oaths; and so long as it shall be considered by the persons taking those oaths, binding on their consciences, it will be effective and operative, and will accomplish a violation of the spirit of our constitution and of our government.

But it is said by some, the Know-nothing council of our State has

abolished the religious disqualification, and as evidence of that we are told that Mr. St. James, who is a candidate of the Know-nothings for attorney-general, is a *Catholic*. If that test has been abolished, it is an important step in the right direction. Let that party remove the disqualification they impose on the naturalized citizen, and say five years, and no more, is a sufficient residence to be required before a person of full age shall be naturalized, and I think that party would take two more steps in the right direction.

I am aware there is a great prejudice in the minds of many against the Roman Catholic Church. I am satisfied many persons have joined the Know-nothings merely on account of their hostility to that Church. If this religious test is abolished, and persons joined the order merely because of their opposition to Catholics, what inducement is there for them to remain in the order? The Know-nothings expect to vote for their ticket for State officers, and for their *whole* ticket, and the class of persons to whom I have referred will be compelled to vote for St. James, the Catholic, or violate the secret oath they have taken.

Reared a Protestant, and with prejudices against Catholics in early life instilled in my mind, I trust I am able to soar above those prejudices of early education in the defence of the great principle of perfect religious freedom.

I cannot sanction this proscriptive policy. There is a great principle involved in this question. If you have the right to proscribe one religious denomination, you have the same right to proscribe any other religious sect. To admit the right to proscribe one religious denomination, admits the principle that you may proscribe *all* religious denominations; and if the members of all religious denominations shall be proscribed from eligibility to office, I leave it to you to say whether inducements will not be offered to men to embrace atheism and infidelity. I place myself in opposition to this system of proscribing Roman Catholics from office, in the same manner I would do if the Roman Catholics had attempted to proscribe any Protestant denomination from eligibility to office. I war against proscription on account of religious belief and opinions. I do not myself, in determining for whom I will vote, inquire where the candidate was born, nor what his religion: but I adopt the inquiries laid down by Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of civil and religious liberty—"Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the constitution?"

In this respect I prefer to follow that great man, than all the teachings of "Sam"—a mysterious personage, whose acquaintance I have never made, nor sought to make, and whose teachings lead his followers to violate the great constitutional principles of civil and religious freedom.

This is the first time, in the political history of our country, when a party of any considerable strength has presented sectional candidates for President and Vice President, and altogether upon sectional issues. Such is the position of Fremont and Dayton. In almost one-half of the States of this Union, an electoral ticket for these candidates cannot and will not be formed. What a spectacle is here presented! A union of the sag-end of all parties in the North against

the South and her institutions! The warning voice of a Washington in his farewell address to his countrymen, to beware of sectional and geographical parties, falls unheeded on the ear of these political bigots and fanatics. The compromises of the constitution are disregarded by them; that bond of union which our forefathers framed and transmitted to us for preservation, with their prayers that it might be perpetual, they are willing ruthlessly to break, and rashly to rend asunder. Already are petitions being circulated in the North, praying Congress to take the initiatory steps for a speedy dissolution of the Union. And these petitions are to be forwarded to Messrs. Seward, Wilson, Wade, Burlingame, Giddings, and others, all friends and supporters of the Black Republican Fremont, for presentation to Congress. You also find the Black Republican party advising and countenancing civil war in Kansas. The Abolitionists of that Territory are told to resist the execution of the laws. In their frantic zeal to do the bidding of their friends in the northern States, not only is the execution of the laws resisted by bodies of armed men, but the lawfully appointed officers of the Territory are shot down. The Black Republicans are now sending large numbers of men to that Territory—not as settlers, but armed, drilled, and officered as soldiers, for the purpose of slaughtering the emigrants from Missouri and other southern States residing in that Territory, who believe they have the undoubted right to carry their property into that Territory, and there hold and enjoy it.

Again, let a slave make his escape to some of the non-slaveholding States, and you find large numbers of men who not only aid him in his flight, but who embody themselves after the slave has been arrested, and in the custody of the officers of the United States, and *forcibly* rescue him from the officers of the law. You find some northern States by their legislative enactments and judicial decisions nullifying not only the laws of the United States, but also that provision of the constitution which provides for the surrender of fugitives from labor. Such is the position of this Black Republican party, headed by Col. Fremont.

And who is Colonel Fremont? A political adventurer; a soldier, without ever having fought a battle; a senator, without any political record; a statesman without a speech, and not the author of a State paper. An explorer of our vast territories, assigned to this duty through the influence of his father-in-law, his reputation has been made by the many gallons of ink the same father-in-law has shed to puff the son-in-law into notoriety.

I take the following from one of the leading journals of the day, for the purpose of showing the opinions of Messrs. Giddings, Seward, Banks, Spalding, Webb, Burlingame, J. S. Pike, (J. S. P.,) and Greeley, all prominent and leading supporters of Colonel Fremont, and to contrast their opinions with those of Mr. Buchanan. I will not comment on the remarks attributed to Mr. Giddings: *A higher law than the constitution. Slavery must be abolished. Let the Union slide. For a dissolution of the Union if slavery be continued. If the Republicans (Fremont's friends) fail at the ballot-box, we will be forced to drive back the slaveocracy with FIRE AND SWORD. For an anti-slavery constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God. Free and slave*

States ought to be separate. Revolutionize the government, that the accursed Union be dissolved, even if blood have to be spilt. For a speedy dissolution of the Union. Union not worth supporting in connection with the South.

Such are the opinions of some of the leading friends of Colonel Fremont. And can it be supposed that they support Colonel Fremont as heartily as they do, unless they have a well-founded expectation that he concurs with them in their obnoxious opinions?

FREMONT AND BUCHANAN PLATFORMS—THE CONTRAST.

THE FREMONT PLATFORM.

"I look forward to the day when there shall be a *ser vile insurrection* in the South; when the black man, armed with *British bayonets* and led on by *British officers*, shall assert his freedom, and wage a war of extermination against his master; when the *torch of the incendiary shall light up the towns and cities of the South*, and blot out the last vestige of slavery; and though I may not mock at their calamity, nor laugh when their fear cometh, yet I will hail it as the dawn of a political millennium."—*Joshua R. Giddings*.

"There is a higher law than the constitution which regulates our authority over the domain. * *It (slavery) can be and must be abolished, and you and I must do it.* * Correct your own error that slavery has any constitutional guarantees which may not be released, and ought not to be relinquished. * You will soon bring the parties of the country into an EFFECTIVE AGGRESSION UPON SLAVERY."—*William H. Seward*.

"The Whig party is not only dead, but stinks."—*Benjamin F. Wade*.

"I am willing, in a certain state of circumstances, to LET THE UNION SLIDE."—*N. P. Banks*.

"In case of the alternative being presented of the continuance of slavery or a dissolution of the Union, *I am for dissolution, and I care not how quick it comes.*"—*Rufus P. Spalding*.

"On the action of this convention depends the fate of the country; *if the republicans fail at the ballot-box, WE WILL BE FORCED TO DRIVE BACK THE SLAVEOCRACY WITH FIRE AND SWORD.*"
[*James Watson Webb*].

"The times demand, and we must have, an ANTI-SLAVERY CONSTITUTION, AN ANTI SLAVERY BIBLE, AND AN ANTI-SLAVERY GOD."—*Anson Burlingame*.

"I have no doubt that the free and slave States ought to separate."

"J. S. P.," of the *N. Y. Tribune*.

"It is the duty of the North, in case they fail in electing a President and a Congress that will restore freedom to Kansas, to revolutionize the government."

[*Resolution of a Black Republican meeting in Wisconsin*].

"I pray daily that this accursed Union may be dissolved, even if blood have to be spilt."

[*Black Republican clergyman at Poughkeepsie*].

"We earnestly request Congress, at its present session, to take such initiatory measures for the speedy, peaceful, and equitable dissolution of the existing Union as the exigencies of the case may require."—*Black Republican petition to Congress*.

"The Union is not worth supporting in connexion with the South."—*Horace Greeley*.

"The constitution is a reproach and a league with Tophet."—*William Lloyd Garrison*.

THE BUCHANAN PLATFORM.

"The federal Union—it must be preserved."—*Andrew Jackson*.

"*Disunion is a word which ought not to be breathed amongst us, even in a whisper. The word ought to be considered one of dreadful omen, and our children should be taught that it is sacrilege to pronounce it.*"—JAMES BUCHANAN.

Now mark the contrast. Mr. Buchanan is for the preservation and maintenance of the Union, and so are his friends and supporters. A vote for Fremont is, in my opinion, a vote for a dissolution of the Union; a vote for Mr. Buchanan is a vote for the preservation of the

Union and the compromises of the constitution as made by our fathers.

As I have before remarked, I am of opinion that Mr. Fillmore stands no chance of an election by the people to the office of President. Of him and his political principles I have nothing to say. His organ, published at Buffalo, speaks confidently that Mr. Fillmore's friends will carry the State of Missouri at the August election, and remarks that the same influences which will operate in favor of Mr. Fillmore's friends at the August election will operate in the Presidential election, and enable his friends to carry the State in November next.

I strove in 1852 to effect a union of the Democratic party. A union was (I then believed) consummated on terms fair and honorable to all concerned. By that union I stood. The platform adopted by our State convention of 1852 was subsequently, in substance, adopted by the National Convention of the Democratic party. But prominent men in our State found fault with that platform, and also found fault with the national platform. In addition to that, those persons declared they would never sustain the nominee of another National Convention, and declared themselves in favor of casting the election of President into the House of Representatives, instead of submitting to the "dictation" of another National Convention. To this doctrine I then entered my protest. Dissensions have for several years existed, and still exist, amongst those who are, or who claim to be, democrats. It resulted in two sets of delegates being sent to the National Convention, and in the selection of two sets of candidates for State officers, and two sets of candidates for electors for President and Vice President. All efforts at arranging these dissensions amongst ourselves having proved unavailing, the contest was carried for adjudication to the National Convention of the Democratic party—a body intelligent and disinterested. The decision of that august body should have ended the contest. All who are democrats ought to be ready and willing to submit to the decision of that tribunal. Twice did different committees unanimously decide that the delegation to the National Convention of which I was a member were entitled to seats in that convention, and that, too, after proof and argument had been submitted on both sides. The report of the Committee on Credentials in our favor—composed of one member from each State of the Union, (New York and Missouri excepted,) appointed not by the president of the convention, but appointed by the respective State delegations—was *unanimously* adopted by the National Convention, accompanied by cheers and great applause. This was the manner in which your delegation was received by the National Convention. The delegation represented before the Committee on Credentials by Messrs. T. L. Price, J. M. Richardson, and B. Gratz Brown, were, by the decision of the convention, in effect, *unanimously* declared a *bogus* delegation. If, then, this delegation, which was rejected by the convention, is a *bogus* delegation, the nominees of that convention, which appointed those delegates, must be *bogus* nominees, and its electoral ticket a *bogus* electoral ticket. That *bogus* electoral ticket is

not pledged to vote for Buchanan and Breckinridge; nor have those candidates for electors, nor the *bogus* candidates for the State offices, in any manner that I am aware of, subscribed to and approved of that sound and national platform of principles adopted by the National Convention, and fully and nobly endorsed by both Mr. Buchanan and Major Breckinridge. Why is not that bogus electoral ticket withdrawn, since the decision of the National Convention, if the supporters of that electoral ticket sincerely desire the election of Buchanan and Breckinridge? It is a fair and legitimate inference from the conduct of the bogus candidates for State offices, and from the fact that this bogus electoral ticket is kept in the field, that these bogus men are willing to see the electoral vote of our State given to Fillmore, and thus verify the predictions of the editor of Mr. Fillmore's home organ.

It is plain that these bogus leaders are not Democrats. They have not and will not sanction the principles uttered by the Democratic party in national convention assembled. They have not abided by the decision of the convention, and abandoned an organization which was unanimously decided to be irregular, but cling to it, although their doing so endangers our success, and multiplies the chances of the Know-nothings. As they do not believe in, and do not subscribe to Democratic principles—as they will not submit to the decision of the Democratic National Convention, but continue to adhere to an organization which the Democracy of every State in the Union, north and south, east and west, have unanimously decided to be irregular, can these followers of Blair be considered Democrats either in "principle" or in "practice," especially as all their newspaper organs concur with them, and openly support the Black Republican ticket of Illinois, as well as the irregular ticket of the disorganizers in Missouri? I fully believe that every reflecting Democrat in the State will at once withdraw from leaders who are now at open variance with the principles, the organizations, and the decisions of the Democracy of the nation. This will secure an easy triumph over both the Blair and the Know-nothing factions.

If the electoral vote of Missouri and of one or two other States shall be given to Mr. Fillmore, the election of President may, in the opinion of the Black Republicans, be thrown into the present House of Representatives; and then Col. Benton's son-in-law may, by this Black Republican House of Representatives, be elected President—a station which, it is said, Col. Benton several years ago predicted his son-in-law would fill. To defeat this expectation I exhort all Democrats to sustain the regular Democratic ticket for State officers, headed by that gallant and true man, Trusten Polk.

If the election of President shall go into the House of Representatives, the vote of Missouri, whether it shall be cast for Mr. Buchanan or Mr. Fillmore, will depend on the result of the election in the fifth congressional district, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of my late colleague, Hon. John G. Miller. Whether the bogus party will bring out a candidate to insure the election of Mr. Ackers, Know-nothing, or not, I am not advised. But if a bogus candidate shall present himself, after the nomination of the able and distinguished gentleman, (Major Jackson,) whom the Democratic party of that dis-

strict has selected as its candidate to fill that vacancy, it will be additional testimony to show that this bogus party is not sincere in its support of Buchanan and Breckinridge; that they are to be distrusted in all their professions and actions, and that they are really laboring to fulfil the prophecy of the editor of Mr. Fillmore's organ. We know that these disorganizers did, notwithstanding all their loud professions of hostility to the Know-nothings, vote for Newland, Know-nothing, for Speaker of the House of Representatives, and for several bank directors who were then known as members of the Know-nothing party, instead of casting their vote for Democrats, uncontaminated and never connected with Know-nothingism.

But, fellow-citizens, I must bring my address to a close. Who my competitors will be on the day of election I cannot tell. Already one has withdrawn from the contest, and it is said he has withdrawn in favor of Mr. Emmerson. I have yet to learn that any man, whether he is a candidate or not, can transfer his friends to any other candidate. The people of our district have manifested a more sturdy independence than this. They have never yet permitted any man or set of men to transfer their suffrages, nor do I believe they will tolerate or submit to any such arrangement. Dr. Larrimore is also in the field, and perhaps there may be others. Of course I have no fault to find with the gentlemen who are candidates, or who may be candidates, because they choose to solicit the suffrages of the people for the station for which I respectfully ask your suffrages. But reports prejudicial to me—misrepresentations of my political course—of my action as your representative, may be put in circulation, and perhaps may accomplish the unjust and iniquitous object intended—that of prejudicing your minds against me; whilst, so remote from the scene of action, I will have no opportunity of explaining my course, or of contradicting such false reports.

My professional and public life is before you. For nearly twenty years have I resided amongst you. My character, my professional life, my public career is known to you. Read it, study it, scrutinize it, and then name the place, the time, the occasion, when I have failed to conduct myself in a manner worthy of the station with which you have honored me, or in a manner to justify a forfeit of the esteem and confidence you have reposed in me. You have expected from me diligence and attention to business. This I have given, and that, too, to an extent to overtask my physical abilities, and prove injurious to my health. You have expected from me that I would protect your interests, and strive to promote the welfare of our State. Tell me when I have proved faithless to these well-founded expectations. You have expected from me a fulfilment of the pledges of political action I made you when heretofore soliciting your suffrages. I have the consciousness that all these pledges have been redeemed. Ay, more; I defy the searching eye and the malevolent heart of my most violent political enemy to point out where I have been faithless to *any* pledges I ever made you.

During the time I have served the people of our State in the councils of the nation, I have been called upon to vote upon almost every conceivable question which can come before the House of Representa-

tives. Upon the questions of peace and war, the army, the navy, internal improvement, finance, the Indian policy, public lands, alterations, &c., &c., &c.—upon all these have that record I stand; by it I ought to be, and am what I am. That during my official service I have given votes which some of my constituents do not approve, I admit. I have never sought to please everybody; nor will I seek to please everybody. That man engaged in political life who seeks to please everybody has no mind of his own, and such I cannot imitate.

I confidently rely on you to see justice meted out to me in this canvass. That you will defend me from unjust assaults, I have no doubt. That you will vindicate my political integrity, I know. That you will protect me from improper attacks, I rely. And that you will show on the first Monday in August next that you have undiminished confidence in me, I believe.

I shall not be able, without abandoning the post your kindness has assigned me here, to be with you before the election. I regret I cannot participate in the canvass, and aid the efforts of my friends. I have indicated my preference for State officers, and, as I resort to no concealment of my political action, it is right I should do the same for officers in the county in which I reside. If I were at home, I should vote for the county ticket nominated by the Democratic party, and headed with Hancock and Graves for members of the legislature.

Truly grateful to you for the confidence you have so long reposed in me, I subscribe myself your Representative and fellow-citizen,

JOHN S. PHELPS.



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